

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **A. Background of the Study**

United State of America is known as the greatest country in the world. It gets a lot of attention from the whole society. The society takes care with the every U.S. policy such as political policy, foreign policy, economic policy, domestic policy and other policy. One of the political policy activities is the U.S. presidential election. The activity during the presidential election is U.S. presidential debates.

Based on [www.debates.org](http://www.debates.org) the history of presidential debate in election was started on September 26, 1960 between the Democratic Party senator, John F Kennedy and the vice president from Republican Party nominee Richard Nixon. There was no presidential debate anymore until 1976. The presidential debate in U.S. presidential election was started again in 1976. Jimmy Carter from Democratic Party Nominee and Gerald Ford from Republican Party faced in debates on September 23, 1976 and they agreed to held three debates for responding the topic about domestic issue, foreign policy and any topic. Since 1988 Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) controlled the activities of U.S., presidential debate on the U.S. presidential election until the latest presidential debates in 2008 between Barack Hussein Obama the presidential candidates from Democratic Party and John McCain from Republican Party.

Generally, there were three rounds in U.S. Presidential debates, including the 2008 presidential debates. Jim Lehrer from PBS moderated the first round at Mississippi University on September 26, 2008. This debate talked about the national security, economic climate and foreign policy in U.S. The second presidential debate discussed about domestic policy and foreign policy was held on October 7, 2008 and moderated by Tom Brokaw from NBC News at Belmont University. The last debate of Obama and McCain was held in Hofstra University on October 15, 2008 talked about domestic policy of each candidate. Bob Schieffer from CBS News moderated the last debate. ([www.debate.org](http://www.debate.org))

U.S. presidential debates have certain rules that should be followed. The rules of the debates are fixed by CPD. Ninety minutes for each debate. The first rule is coin toss between the candidates. It is done to decide the first candidates whom answer the question from the moderator. It is continued with the answer session from the moderator. Only two minutes dedicated for this session and continued with one-minute rebuttal. The debate ended by the moderator discretion.

The three debates were held by the CPD got a lot of attention from the viewer both of television and the internet. There were different public responses with the debates. The primary public response was that the debates show the capability of Obama is higher than McCain. The debates explored Obama's view about the hottest issue forested by the U.S. citizen and the resolutions how to solve it. The statement of McCain during the debates

indicated that he would continue the policy that had done by the previous president, George W. Bush.

The Commission on Presidential Debates or known as CPD has specific duties in the U.S. election socialization, for holding the presidential and the vice presidential debates when the general election happened. The CPD is the legal institution who held the debates, and the debates are announced to the whole people in the world by the sponsored of CPD. CPD as the sponsor of the debates choose the place, the moderator, the issue and the media to announce the debates. CPD has chosen certain university to hold the debates because university is a place where the critics' people are collected. The issue, which was raised in the debates, could be critics by the academic people and their view about the debates and the opinion of each candidate is more valuable than the ordinary people. University of Mississippi, Hofstra University, and Belmont University are chosen by CPD for holding the 2008 U.S. presidential debates. ([www.debate.org](http://www.debate.org))

The 2008 U.S. presidential debates raised the issue about the economic policy, domestic policy and foreign policy. The scope of economic policy of U.S. become the one issue because of the policy also influences the other country in the world. The bailout fund to solve the economic crisis in 2008 and the resolution of each candidate to recovery the economic condition was become the hottest issue to talk with. The other issue was about the domestic policy. The domestic policy was about the unemployment, health care fund, and the climate change. The last topic was discussed was about the

foreign policy. The foreign policy of U.S. interested to give more attention. It was because of as the greatest country in the world the foreign activity of U.S. could be invisible in the personal sight. The U.S policy about Iraq, Afghanistan, Israel and Palestine was waiting by the people to be solved.

Debate is the part of U.S. presidential election, which is happened when the presidential election was held. The latest presidential election in 2008 become the historical election in U.S., because one of the candidates came from Afro-American people, Barack Obama, and when he win the election he be the first Afro-American president of United State of America. Taken from the electronic book entitled “*Barack Obama, 44<sup>th</sup> president of United States*” Barack Hussein Obama was born in Honolulu, Hawaii on August 4, 1961. He is the first child of Barack Obama Sr. a man from Nyanza Province in Kenya and Ann Dunham from Wichita, Kansas. His wife is Michele Robinson and his daughters are Sasha and Malia. During his life he composed two books entitled *Dreams from My Father; A Story of Race and Inheritance* and *The Audacity of Hope; Thought on Reclaiming the American Dream*. He narrated his first book and won the *Grammy Award* as the *Best Spoken Word Album* in 2006.

Obama started his political experience in 1996 when he entered the state senate of Illinois by his party Democratic represented Chicago. In 2000, he failed from the election of U.S. House of Representative. He was chosen as the Illinois senator in 2004. 2007 year became the historical year for him. In this year, he was going to the election of the U.S. president with his

opponent, the first lady Hillary Clinton in Democratic Party. In June 3, 2008, he won the election of Democratic Party presidential election. After that, Hillary Rodham Clinton in her speech gave the full support to Obama in her campaign. On November 4, 2008, he defeated the Republican nominee John McCain in the national presidential election and became the U.S. president.

His rivals, John McCain has full named John Sydney McCain was born in Coco Solo Naval Air Station, Panama Canal Zone on August 29, 1938. He is the third child from his father John S. McCain Sr. (the four-starred general in U.S. Naval Force on Pacific) and his mother Roberta. His wife is Cindy Lou Hensley. He has four children and one adopted children from Bangladesh. Not different with his rivals, he also composed a book entitled *Faith of My Fathers*.

His political carrier came in 1976, when he was assigned as the Navy's liaison to the U.S. senate. On November 2, 1982, he elected in the election of House of Representative from Republican Party and reelect again on 1984. He was elected as the U.S. senate after defeated the longtime Arizona senator and the prominent of Republican, Barry Goldwater in 1986. He became the senate for three times after three times reelection. He challenged to be the president of U.S. in 2000 when he proclaimed himself as the presidential candidates in Republican and defeated George Walker Bush from the similar party. However, in the primary round of U.S. presidential election by Republican Party in 2000, Bush won the election and represented Republican Party. In 2007 he entered the presidential raced after Bush could

not reelect again because he was became the U.S. president for two periods. In the presidential election on November 4, 2008, he was defeated by Obama and loosed the presidential election ([www.biography.com/articles/JohnMcCain](http://www.biography.com/articles/JohnMcCain)).

Barack Obama who came from the ordinary citizen made him understand about the condition of the society. The revolution that was sold by him in facing the issue was different with the previous president makes him easy to get the positive response. Barack Hussein Obama won the election one of the reason is about his policy after he had been become the U.S. president. He delivered one of the policies in the presidential debate that was the economic policy. The economic situation in U.S. when the election happened was in serious problem. The policy, which was sold by him after 40 days election to solve the financial crisis, was better than McCain policies. His economic policy placed the society from the lowest level until the medium levels become the basic point to make the policy. That is why he got respect from the majority level in U.S. citizen and won the debates.

The presidential election of U.S. in 2008 could be called as the historical election, because the winner was not the represented of the general people of U.S., which come from Hispanic race. Barack Hussein Obama, from Afro-American race, with his ability and his charisma cursed the voter to vote him in the U.S. presidential election 2008. The voter of the election elected Obama because of his empathy and his genuine help for middle class American, the class, which is touched seldom by the government. The other

reason why the American people elected Obama as U.S. president was the exposed of news agencies. The news agencies described Obama as the person who had enthusiastic, indeed, and zealous. Beside that the voter of Obama wanted to change the government which was led by the Republican Party for eight years to Democratic Party.

Based on the phenomena above, the writer is interested in conducting a critical discourse analysis in the 2008 U.S. presidential debates transcript which uttered by both Barack Hussein Obama and John Mc Cain especially in the Barack Hussein Obama arguments and takes the title for the study *DOMINANT IDEOLOGY IN THE 2008 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL DEBATES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS*.

## **B. Previous Study**

The 2008 U.S. presidential debates transcript is an interesting transcript. Many aspects can be explored on it. As far as the writer concern there is a research of 2008 U.S. presidential transcript had been conducted by the student. Agung Septian Hidayat (UMS, 2010) did *Speech Errors in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates* as his research. This research paper is aimed to give a description of speech error phenomena which occur in the 2008 U.S. presidential debate. This research is to find out the types of speech error, the frequency of speech errors describes the sources of speech error and the frequency of the sources in those debates. This research is intended to help the readers comprehend speech error phenomenon so that they are careful in

producing language. The writer analyzes the data based on psycholinguistic approach.

The difference between this research and the research above is the technique to analyze the data and the approach for analyzing the data. Hidayat (UMS, 2010) takes the main concept of speech error and the theory of slip tongue to analyze the data. He also uses psycholinguistic approach to analyze the data. While the writer takes the critical discourse analysis based on Teun A van Dijk technique for finding the dominant ideology of Barrack Obama.

### **C. Problem Statement**

Based on the phenomena on the background of the study, the writer formulates the problem statement that is “How is the ideology reflected in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates especially in the Barack Hussein Obama arguments?”

### **D. Objective of the Study**

Based on the problem statement the writer formulates the following objectives, namely:

1. to analyze the structural elements of 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates transcript,
2. to identify the ideology which is reflected in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates especially in the Barack Hussein Obama’s arguments.



## **E. Limitation of the Study**

To carry out the study, the writer needs to give the limitation of the problem, and those are:

1. the writer take only the 2008 U.S. Presidential debates transcript from the commission of presidential debates as the data and analyze the utterance which is made by Barack Hussein Obama, the Democratic Party senator, and
2. to analyze the dominant ideology which is reflected in the 2008 U.S. presidential debates is based on the Critical Discourse Analysis theory by Teun A van Dijk.

## **F. Benefit of the Study**

### **1. Theoretical Benefit**

- a. The result of the study can give the contribution for explaining the analysis by using the critical discourse analysis method.
- b. The result of this study can be used as a reference for students who interested in critical discourse analysis or for their future research.

### **2. Practical Benefit**

- a. Teachers

The writer hopes this study can be useful for additional information and suggestion that can be applied by the teacher in the process of teaching learning of critical discourse analysis study.

b. Students

He hopes this result can be used as references and knowledge in critical discourse analysis study from the discourse transcripts.

c. Other Researcher

This study is hoped to be the reference by other universities student that interested in literary study on the text based on the critical discourse analysis study.

## **G. Research Method**

### **1. Type of the Study**

The type of the research is descriptive qualitative. The writer takes this kinds of research because he intents to describe the the ideology of Barack Hussein Obama which is reflected in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates. The result of this research contains a lot of words or meanings rather than number.

### **2. Object of the Study**

The object of this research is the transcript of the 2008 U.S. presidential candidates debates is issued by the Commission on Presidential Debate. The debates can be called, as the legal debates because of it were hold by the legal institution in the United States of America. The fourth debate that is held by Columbia University did not carry the name of CPD as the institution which held the debates. It was the private debates from another institution outside the CPD.

### **3. Type of the Data and the Data Source**

#### **a. Data**

The data are the notes in the 2008 presidential debates transcript.

#### **b. Data Source**

There are two types of data namely primary data and secondary data that are needed to do this research.

##### **1) Primary Data**

The primary data in this research are all arguments that is produced by Barack Obama in the 2008 U.S. presidential debates.

##### **2) Secondary Data**

Secondary data is the supporting data taken from literary books, criticism, and some articles related to the debates.

### **4. Technique of the Data Collection**

In collecting data, the writer uses note taking technique. He uses the steps in note taking as follows:

- a. reading the transcripts of 2008 presidential debates
- b. classifying the data
- c. browsing the internet for finding the relevant information about the debates, such as the biography of presidential candidates, public response to the debates, etc. and,
- d. reading the relevant book.

## **5. Technique of the Data Analysis**

In analyzing the data, the writer applies the theory of critical discourse analysis based on the Teun A van Dijk theory.

## **H. Research Paper Organization**

The research paper organization of Dominant Ideology in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates: A Critical Discourse Analysis is as follows: chapter I is introduction consists of the background of the study, previous studies, problem statements, limitation of the study, objectives of the study, benefits of the study, research method and research paper organization. Chapter II is underlying theory. It covers the notion of critical discourse analysis, structural elements of critical discourse analysis, the notion of general concept of debates, notion of ideology and theoretical application. Chapter III is the structural elements of the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates. This chapter consists of the macrostructure element, superstructure element and microstructure element of discourse. Chapter IV is analysis and discussion which talks about the ideology reflected in the 2008 U.S. Presidential Debates especially in the Barack Hussein Obama arguments. Chapter V is conclusion and suggestion. it consists of conclusion of the study and suggestion from the writer.